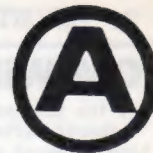


# *the* **toronto anarchist**

25¢



**April-May 1979  
Number Six**

## **THE GM WILDCAT CLASS STRUGGLE IN ST. CATHERINES**

The recent two and a half day wildcat which shut down The General Motors Foundry and Engine Plant in St. Catherines marks a major turning point for the workers of UAW local 199 in this, a contract year.

Few people outside of the plant know what really took place. The credit for this goes to the establishment media which based its coverage of the events upon the mis-information provided by representatives of the company and of the right-wing union leadership.

The events of Thursday, March 22, began in the small hours of the morning in the Foundry Cleaning Room, where a speed-up had been accompanied by a reduction in the workforce including the emergency relief man. Twenty-five workers downed tools and staged a sit-down strike. This strike was quickly squelched and work resumed.

Then at 7:00 am as the day-shift came on line they heard about the mornings events and also ascertained that the problem had not been resolved. Seventeen of these workers immediately began another sit-down strike and at approximately 8:00 am the plant chairperson, Leo Rustin, arrived on the scene to inform the men that they should resume work as the strike was illegal. Rustin, a true company flunk, made a resumption of work the condition for his meeting with management to discuss the problem.

The workers refused to accept this and demanded an immediate resolution of the problem and a promise that no disciplinary action would be taken. At 9:00 am the seventeen workers were handed notices of indefinite suspension, but, the workers still refused to leave the plant and remained until 1:30 pm when they walked out accompanied by several of their workmates and set up a picket line at the plant entrance.

At 2:30 the afternoon shift began arriving and the area swiftly became congested as they refused to cross the picket line. The general mood was angry but also festive as many workers welcomed the prospect of time off in the unseasonably good weather. Everyone realized that management's tactics had made this situation inevitable and the workers were resolved to fight.

Management quickly called in the police who cleared the plant entrance allowing only five pickets to remain. These were quite sufficient, however, as only supervisory personell were crossing the line. The Foundry and Engine Plant were brought to a standstill and the workers resolved to return and stage a mass-picket at 11:00

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### **Not the Church and Not the State Women must control their Fate**

On Saturday, March 10, over 1,000 women and men gathered at Convocation Hall on the U of T campus to celebrate International Women's Day with a rally and a march to City Hall. At the rally moderator Judith Wiseman gave a brief history of women's solidarity dating from the pivotal New York City garment workers strike in 1857. A series of speakers then added their own comments to those of Wiseman's.

Laura Sky received the greatest reaction from the audience when she praised the struggle of the Women's Movement in Iran and their firm stand against Islamic reaction. A telegram of solidarity was sent from the rally to the Iranian women.

Other speakers included: a Chilean woman who was helped by the Times Change Women's Employment Service; a woman who told of the difficulties she faced in trying to secure an abortion; a hooded lesbian mother who described her court battles for custody of her child; a woman worker from the Fleck plant which recently won a first contract and a rousing final speech from a woman advocating affordable daycare.

After a sing-a-long the women and men at the rally marched to

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**GM Wildcat** CONTINUED FROM Pg. 1

pm, the time of the next shift change.

Shortly after 11:00, Leo Rustin and the rest of the shop committee appeared on the scene to address the crowd. They stated that if the workers returned to the job only the initial seventeen strikers would be disciplined. The workers reacted angrily to this and few were willing to return to work on these terms. Rustin later blamed the influence of "radicals" on the workers for their refusal to call off the strike.

At 9:00 am the next morning a mass meeting, attended by 1500 strikers, was held at the union hall. As Rustin called the meeting to order he was greeted by a sustained chorus of boos. He once again outlined the management offer he had read at the picket line the previous night. Rustin made it clear that the shop committee felt this to be the best solution that could be achieved.

In the ensuing debate it quickly became apparent that many of the workers were deeply dissatisfied with these terms. However, a number of workers argued for a return to work pointing out that management had offered to reinstate the emergency relief man and that this could be construed as a victory of sorts, and that if the wildcat continued it would likely be crushed by the alliance of law, management and international union.

This was the strikes turning point as it was obvious that the strikers were divided and uncertain as to what strategy to pursue. There was some resolve to continue the strike to a successful conclusion but how widespread this was could not be ascertained. A phone call to management was made to discover if the offer still stood and the answer received was that the offer had been withdrawn.

The workers gained one small thing from the meeting. The shop committee, which was dominated by the right-wing caucus, had refused to allow the left-wing committee person responsible for the area where the strike had started to have any part in negotiations with management. At the meeting they were forced to take him with them when they returned to the plant to continue negotiations.

The picket line remained in place throughout Friday with isolated incidents resulting in a few arrests. Towards the evening the repression came down heavy. A few workers were being served with injunctions to desist picketing or face fines of \$1,000 per day. The union local was facing a fine of \$10,000 per day and the company had initiated a large court action.

**NEW COMPANY OFFER**

After five hours the shop committee reported the company's new offer to the membership which included much severer discipline. The picket line held during the night but by Saturday morning it was visibly weakening. By 5:00 pm Saturday the shop committee had negotiated a second settlement that proved to be a bitter pill to swallow. Generally, it could be said of it that the union had bailed out itself but not the workers. The fines and legal action were dropped. No one was going to be fired but many, many suspensions were handed out. The worst aspect of these penalties was that they were not subject to grievance procedure. The union accepted these terms on behalf of the workers, not even bothering to consult them as the wildcat faded. The behaviour of the union throughout the strike was despicable and showed them up for the rats they are. The biggest rat of all was Dennis Tice, the international rep., who displayed more enthusiasm for forcing the strikers back to work than the company did. The right-wing caucus was beside itself with glee at the outcome as they considered that the left-wing caucus had been thoroughly discredited during the wildcat placing it in a poor position going into the upcoming union elections.

In the days following the wildcat three leaflets were distributed at the plant. One came from the right-wing caucus prattling on about law-n-order and condemning the radicals who had "led" the strike. The second leaflet was put out by the left-wing caucus and pointed out that it had been management that had precipitated the strike and taking the right-wing to task for selling out the membership. The third leaflet was put out by the original seventeen strikers thanking the membership for their solidarity.

To its credit the left-wing caucus, throughout the strike, had taken the position that the workers themselves should direct the wildcat. The caucus supported the strike but declined to move in and take it over.

In the weeks since the wildcat things have returned to "normal" the speed-up campaigns continue and worker resentment builds once more. The focus of attention now is on the upcoming union elections which the left-caucus has a good chance of winning, contrary to the expectations of the right-wing. The members would be mistaken if they think a left-wing victory, by itself, will rectify the situation. It would, nonetheless, serve as a signal for the workers to take the offensive. A right-wing victory would lead to an even greater worsening of working conditions and would inevitably lead to an explosion of discontent.

In any event, the number of workers radicalized by the events of the wildcat was considerable and make the possibility of another wildcat likely in the near future. The problems of speed-ups and intimidation are not about to go away. The effects of this wildcat, as well as of the one which occurred a short time ago at the GM plant in Scarborough, will weigh decisively upon the contract negotiations later this year. The struggle continues!

AN ANARCHIST AUTOWORKER

**The Toronto Anarchist**

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**The Toronto Anarchist Group****POB 2, Station O****Toronto, Ont., Canada****LETTERS**

Dear TAG:

Pat Leslie (TA#5) confuses abortion with anarchism. Yet as Bakunin explained in 1871:

"Children do not constitute anyone's property; they are not the property of their parents nor even of society. They belong only to their own future freedom.

"But in children this freedom is not yet real. It is only potential; for real freedom, that is, the full awareness and the realization thereof in every individual, pre-eminently based upon the feeling of one's dignity and upon genuine respect for the freedom and dignity of others, that is, upon justice -- such freedom can develop in children only by virtue of the rational development of their minds, character, and rational will.

"Hence it follows that society, the whole future of which depends upon the adequate education and upbringing of children, and which therefore has not only the right but also the duty to watch over them, is the only natural guardian of children of both sexes. And since, as a result of the forthcoming abolition of inheritance, society is to become the only heir, it will then deem it as one of its primary duties to furnish all the necessary means for the upkeep, upbringing, and education of children of both sexes, irrespective of their origin and of their parents.

"The rights of the parents shall reduce themselves to loving their children and exercising over them the only authority compatible with that, inasmuch as such authority does not run counter to their morality, their mental development, and their future freedom."

And as Bakunin wrote in 1866:

"Children belong neither to their parents nor to society but to themselves and their future liberty. From infancy to coming of age they are only potentially free, and must therefore find themselves under the aegis of authority. It is true that their parents are their natural protectors, but the legal and ultimate protector is society, which has the right and duty to tend them because its own future depends on the intellectual and moral guidance they receive. Society can only give liberty to adults provided it supervises the upbringing of minors. (Bakunin's emphasis)

Embryology and genetics prove that the unborn are not some "other", alien to our own postnatal life; their prenatal life is on a continuum with our own. Bakunin's logic as to postnatal children applies to prenatal offspring as well. Moreover, his 1866 manuscript adds: "From the moment of his conception until her child is born, a woman is entitled to a social subvention paid not for her benefit but for her child's."

Protecting the unborn is self-enhancing, whereas the abortionists compromise their own sovereign dignity. Bakunin emphasized their superior/inferior relationship: "I myself am human and free only to the extent that I acknowledge the humanity and liberty of all my fellows. It is only by respecting their human character that I respect my own. When a cannibal treats his prisoner like an animal, he himself is not a man but an animal. A slavemaster is not a man but a master. By ignoring his slave's humanity he ignores his own."

Abortionists slaughter the unborn as though the victims are animals. In treating the unborn as property of the mother, they reduce her or him to slave status; this is self-denigrating.

Bakunin found: "...the freedom of everyone is the result of universal solidarity. But if we recognize this solidarity as the basis and condition of every individual freedom, it becomes evident that a man living among slaves, even in the capacity of their master, will necessarily become the slave of that state of slavery, and that only by emancipating himself from such slavery will he

CONTINUED: SEE LETTERS Pg. 6



# Know Your Enemy: Part 2

## The Debt System

In the first article of this series, we looked at the power of the Finance-Capitalists. To briefly summarize, the enormous power of the international bankers lay in their right - extorted from governments in their debt - to issue credit. International Banks (called "chartered banks" in Canada) do not loan their own money. They loan imaginary funds, called credit. For instance, a bank with one million keeps that one million and loans out a credit note of \$10 million in non-existent dollars. Theoretically, it gets paid back \$10 million in real dollars, plus \$1 million or more in interest, which is now added to the one million it never really lent in the first place. Holding \$12-plus million, it can loan out over 120 million in fake credit dollars. And so on, accelerating geometrically, year after year. (This is the old orthodox 10-1 loan ratio. In Canada it is now 16 to 1. That is, for every one dollar held by the bank, it lends 16 fake credit dollars).

The problem with this is four-fold: No. 1, the power of the Bankers is beyond measure; with virtually unlimited money (they "invent" it) the bankers buy politicians, foundations and institutes, companies, governments, whole nations. No. 2, the fake credit they issue eventually hits the market place and becomes "real" money. The government has to back it up; inflation increases, as this fake money with no roots in industrial production, mineral wealth, labour-time, etc., has nothing to anchor its value and so quickly debases in a flurry of market speculation. No. 3, greed and necessity incite governments, corporations and individuals to borrow more and more, finally beyond any ability to repay. The world becomes bankrupt to its core. No. 4, because the system is on the verge of collapse, the Bankers are frantic to construct a New World Order - to stave off bankruptcy and keep themselves on top. Any nation which balks at their scheme for a one world government (controlled by them, of course) must be destabilized or destroyed. So it is we see bankers clandestinely supporting various "revolutions" so as to put in power more pliant clients. They don't care if the government spouts a Marxist rhetoric - so long as it is willing to borrow and repay bank loans. (The Communist regimes currently owe Western banks nearly \$100 billion). The current prime nation for Western subversion is South Africa and its massive, politically independent gold holdings. The bankers have no care for the Blacks, of course, except to use them as neo-colonial puppets through the tyranny of the international loan system.

I refer to the following two statements by key U.S. officials to prove the point:

"The Carter Administration has received signals that the Soviet Union sees no long-term interest in Southern Africa. The Russians don't need its reserves and it is in some ways troublesome to them. This could be the basis for U.S.-Soviet negotiations. Any governments which emerge in Southern Africa are going to be very good trading partners of ours, no matter how Marxist or militant they start out."

Andrew Young, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, speaking before the U.S. Senate

"The nation state as a fundamental union of man's organized life has ceased to be the principal creative force. International Banks and Multi-National Corporations are acting and planning in terms that are far in advance of the political concepts of the nation-state."

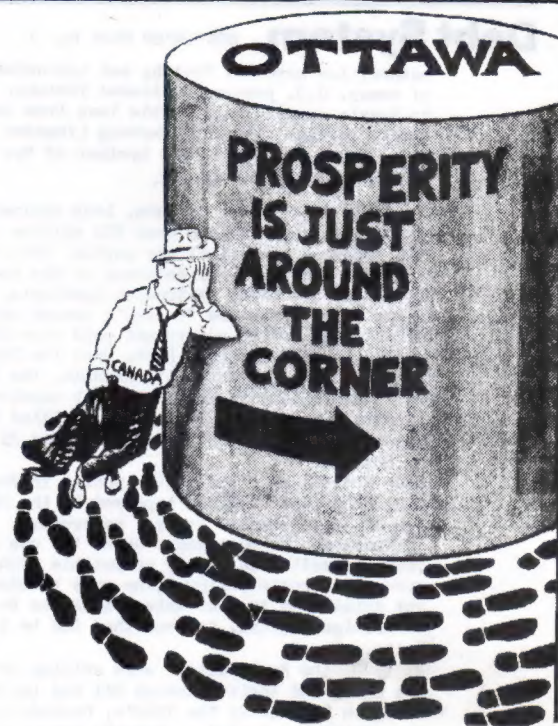
Zbigniew Brzezinski, Special Asst. for National Security Affairs to U.S. President Carter

These facts stated, let's look now at the current debt system.

The most enormous is that of the United States, which has a staggering \$10 trillion debt: federal, state, local, corporation, private. All the nations of the world, including the Communist regimes, are part of it. If the U.S. system collapses, the world economy collapses (as it did in 1930).

There are 8 levels to the American debt pyramid. The pyramid stands upside down on its point. At the narrow point is level 1: the other 7 levels widen up to the base at the top of the inverted triangle.

Level 1: Gold and silver. The U.S. has \$12 million in gold at the fossilized rate of \$35 an ounce, and a smaller amount of reserved silver. This is the only solvent wealth it possesses in immediately "liquid" funds. After WWII the U.S. had almost all the refined gold in the world - but at the laughable \$35 an ounce, the French and others traded in all their paper U.S. notes and credit accruals for gold in the 60's. Presidents Johnson and Nixon had to finally admit defeat, abandoning enforcement of the Bretton-Woods agreement (which set



Jewell

up the U.S. dollar as the world standard) and halting gold conversion.

Level 2: Treasury bills. Government notes and bonds have become increasingly worthless. Inflation has destroyed  $\frac{1}{2}$  the value of paper bills in this decade alone.

Level 3: Corporation and government debts (the largest section). Despite corporation profits on sales and government revenue through taxes, etc., both are borrowing enormous sums from the banks - far beyond profits and taxes to ever repay - and unable to repay principal, are merely making payments on the compounding interest. Often new loans are floated or old ones renegotiated to come up with just the interest due or past-due.

The \$10 trillion U.S. debt has already racked a \$500 billion a year interest obligation. The debts of private individuals follows the same pattern; it now totals over \$1 trillion (almost \$5,000 for every man, woman and child in the U.S.A.).

Level 4: Problem Banks. The U.S. government lists 150 banks in shaky finances. This list includes the prestigious Chase Manhattan Bank (Rockefeller's, the 2nd largest in the U.S.) and N.Y. Citibank (3rd largest). A good deal of the problem lays with 3rd World loans.

\$5 to \$12 billion is owed to Chase Manhattan by 3rd World and Communist regime loans; the 3rd World portion is largely uncollectable. Citibank has 5.6 billion out in 3rd World loans. This is what bankers outrageously call their "assets".

In 1973, Beverley Hills National Bank failed, along with U.S. National Bank of San Diego.

In 1974, 15 banks failed, not only the National Bank of Long Island (\$1.7 billion in so-called "assets"), but also the prominent Franklin National Bank (largest failure in U.S. history - it had assets of over \$3.6 billion).

Level 5: Communist Bloc loans. By the mid-70's, the Communist regimes owed \$50 billion to Western banks and their puppets such as the IMF and World Bank. This will rise to \$100 billion by 1980. Already North Korea has defaulted.

The Communist nexus with the Bankers is no new thing. When in April 1917, the German General Staff passed Lenin and his entourage aboard a sealed train through war-time Germany to crumbling Russia, Lenin carried \$5 to \$6 million in gold, on loan from the German war-time banking consortium, headed by Max Warburg of the Frankfurt Warburg bank. Leon Trotsky and his entourage from New York City crossed to Russia in March 1917 on the S.S. Christiana; fueling in Halifax, the Canadian

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## Debt System CONTINUED FROM Pg. 3

authorities arrested Trotsky and impounded a large sum of money. U.S. pressure released Trotsky; he returned to Russia carrying a sizeable loan from Jacob Schiff, senior partner with Paul Warburg (founder of the U.S. Federal Reserve System and brother of Max Warburg) in the Kuhn, Loeb & Co. in NYC.

In 1949, John Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb estimated that his grandfather Jacob loaned over \$20 million to the Bolshevik regime in the civil war period. Other bankers extending loans were Olaf Aschberg of the Nye Banken in Stockholm, the Rhine Westphalen Syndicate, and Jivotsky (whose daughter became Trotsky's second wife). Between 1918-22, the Soviet government paid over 600 million roubles in gold to Kuhn, Loeb. Once the Bolsheviks showed they could repay extensive amounts, the Rockefeller and Morgan interests jumped in with massive development loans. In Britain, Lord Milner (allied to Rothschild, Oppenheimer and Rhodes fortunes) passed 21 million to the Soviets.

Leon Trotsky made the matter public in Pravda in April 1923. Under the heading "Approved by the Central Executive of the Communist Party," he wrote:

"Experience of past years shows the use of foreign private capital is easily compatible with Russia's general economic policy." The only problem was to "work out details as to what enterprises can be turned over to foreign capital, to whom they can be leased, on what basis, etc."

By 1928, the Rockefellers were selling Soviet bonds in the U.S., and their Standard Oil had built an oil refinery in Russia. By the 1960's, Rockefeller, Eaton and Rothschild had formed a gigantic international consortium to develop Soviet industry.

Level 6: Third World loans. 86 developing countries have an overseas debt of 145 billion dollars. Of this, \$17.8 billion is owed to private banks in U.S.A., more to the so-called World Bank and International Monetary Fund, the remainder to banks in West Europe. The 3rd World requires \$8 billion just for interest payments. They also have \$35 billion in internal deficits. Argentina owes \$8 billion abroad, Zaire owes \$1 billion, South Korea \$6 billion, Indonesia's government oil company \$10.5 billion. \$17 billion is owed collectively for loans on oil tankers.

Level 7: Bankrupt Companies and REIT's. The companies include W.T. Grant, Penn Central R.R., Lockheed Aircraft (the last two subsidized by the U.S. government). REITs are Real Estate Investment Trusts. To show how deflated they are:

	1972 Stock market	1975 price
Chase Manhattan Realty	\$70 a share	\$3 share
(Owned by Chase Bank)		

Level 8: New York City bankruptcy. By 1975, NYC owed \$12.3 billion in long-term debts (including its notorious city bonds) and had a \$1 billion cash shortage for city operations. The U.S. government declared a debt moratorium to stave off immediate collapse.

When the system finally crashes, so will the world - in more ways than one, including nuclear war.

While Marxists rant and rave about Multinationals, they are curiously mum about the Bankers and their conspiracy. The anarchist revolutionary Bakunin recognized this over a hundred years ago (1871) when he observed that the Marxists "have one foot in the bank and the other in the socialist movement." (Note: Bakunin added some anti-Jewish remarks to this analysis - similar, incidentally, to Karl Marx's anti-Jewish remarks in his "On the Jewish Question" - but the bank angle remains as valid as ever). Marxism is a home, Bakunin saw, for not only middle class intellectuals and professionals seeking the privilege of State power, but also for opportunists seeking the cream skimmed-off society by the Marxian central bank (which is what interests the finance-bankers as well). The Marxists seek not to abolish the capitalist system, but - as Bakunin forewarned - to capture and operate it according to their own schemes.

This was confirmed by Lenin in 1918:

"Socialism can be reached only by the development of State Capitalism, the careful organization of finance, control, and discipline amongst the workers." ("The Chief Tasks of Our Times", May 1918, V.I. Lenin).

And by Trotsky in 1923:

"Experiences of past years show the use of foreign private capital is easily compatible with Russia's general economic policy." (PRAVDA, April 12, 1923, L.D. Trotsky)

Central bank or private bank, where capital is first extracted by wage-labour and then increased by imaginary, baseless credit, the path is always open for manipulative tyranny and eventual bankruptcy.

# **Anarchist Forum**

## **Reports:**

TITLE: Quebec: An Anarchist Perspective.

DATE: February 8th

LOCATION: East Common Room; Hart House (U of T)

SPEAKER: Dimitrios I. Roussopoulos; Member of the editorial collective of OUR GENERATION (an independent radical journal), and BLACK ROSE BOOKS, Montreal, an anarchist writer and activist.

In a very well-knit and hard striking presentation Roussopoulos established a number of vital points on the issues at stake in Quebec. Firstly, the Quebecois are a conquered nation, continue to be so, and no amount of political flim-flammy can paper over that fact. Secondly, separatist agitation will continue in Quebec no matter what happens. A NO vote in the PQ referendum would seriously set-back the separatist cause, but it would re-organize. Thirdly, the Quebec situation will have tremendous ramifications throughout North America. In terms of the minorities question, the Quebecois provide, and will provide even further, a profound stimulant to the Dene, Inuit, Native Peoples, Acadians, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Blacks. Beyond this there is of course the relatively radical nature of the Quebec union movement -- especially the CSN and Quebec teachers, which in turn effect the Quebec Federation of Labour, forcing it to be the most militant section of the AFL-CIO-CLC.

Regardless of the outcome of the referendum Roussopoulos, as an anarchist, would continue to fight the State, including any set up by the PQ or Marxists. But, as a tactical move of strategic significance, Roussopoulos strongly advocates a YES vote on the PQ sovereignty-association referendum. If passed, it would significantly alter the political situation in Canada, bringing up all kinds of new venue and revolutionary potentials.

In an interesting sidelight Roussopoulos showed evidence of a distinctly libertarian trend in Quebec. For example, the co-operative movement in Quebec was strongly influenced by the earliest of the modern anarchists, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and his theories of small communes and local co-operative banks. More recently, after a long Marxist hiatus, libertarian anti-Statist ideas are being seriously posed in a best-selling political work published in Quebec by a former Marxist giving concrete examples of anarchist worker and community control and applying them within a Quebec context. The author continually exhorts the reader to seriously consider the anarchist alternative.

NOTE: TAG has some serious differences with Roussopoulos' analysis particularly his call for support of the PQ referendum but, on the whole we found his presentation perceptive and enlightening.

TITLE: Prisons and Prisoner's Rights.

DATE: March 26th

LOCATION: Debates Room; Hart House (U of T)

SPEAKER: Bill Lewis; Community worker, veteran of prisoner, Native peoples, unemployed and tenants struggles. A former jailbird, seamen & industrial worker, union militant & radical organizer, Lewis is a committed anarchist.

Lewis has seen the inside of some of the biggest and most vicious penal institutions in the U.S. and Canada; he has watched men go to the gallows, seen young men's lives (including his own) warped by the system. His answer to the question of prison reform is a "bulldozer": tear 'em down! 90% of prisoners are in for minor offenses, chief among them theft and assault. Prisons do not rehabilitate; in fact, they corrupt men and women even more than do the mean streets of desperation and unemployment. A community would be far better off integrating them into some meaningful work, rather than wasting tens of millions of dollars on stone walls. There is a small minority of real problem criminals, including sexual offenders, and Lewis gave no easy answers on this score, but these individuals comprise only from 2-5% of the prison population.

The prison system panders to our worst impulses, our most vicious sadistic streaks. It offers fake guarantees, allowing people to sanction crimes of manipulation and tyranny without taking personal moral responsibility. We are absolved by the cant of the State. Lewis points out to the Left that they allow themselves to be used in the same manner when they offer aid and support to the various Marxist-Leninists and their State machines.



# The Individual and the State Conference

## The Incoherence of the Intellectuals

On February second and third, the Centre for International Studies (U. of T.) and the CBC brought together a motley crew of liberals, Marxists and fellow travellers at University College for a two-day conference entitled *The Individual and the State*. The proceedings were recorded for broadcast by the CBC radio show 'Ideas' and were aired between March 9 and April 6. This radical-liberal potpourri produced such dazzling insights as: Donald V. Smiley giving a vague and superficial account of the nature of the Canadian binational state; a confused analysis by Rayna Rapp of the expressions of social relations of production, such as religion, in class societies; a speaker from the University of Rome who applauded 'Eurocommunism' while at the same time, quite unintentionally, showing its utter bankruptcy and Russel Jacoby's demonstration of his confusion of the eclipse of the bourgeois individual with the decline of subjective relationships within political society. In one of the events few bright spots Gad Horowitz, in a brief and to the point comment, noted the general failure of this academic conference. Of all the speakers only Claus Offe attempted to link the relation between the individual and the state to the requirements of capitalist accumulation and reproduction.

Smiley saw the market only as an allocative mechanism through which the goods and services of society are distributed. His theory of the market precluded an analysis of the activities which are organized by this social relation of buyer and seller and so his examination remained incomplete.

The basis of class society is laid by three developments. The first is surplus production. That is production beyond the needs of the community of immediate producers. Another development is that of social labour. This is labour which is done for someone else. The labour is not useful to its producers. As well the wholly social relation of value is established in exchange or trade as class society's foundations are laid. This gives labour its objective character. It is the form in which people relate themselves to one another socially -- as the buyers and sellers of private production and not as freely associated producers of community wants. Rapp suggested that the origin of the state apparatus is to be found within these three developments.

Rapp also asserted that it was religion that provided the "glue" of social statist relations. This conclusion was in error. Religion is the expression of an actual relation of antagonism in the society of class struggle. The "glue" of statist social relations is social surplus production.

In all cases, this speaker noted, the state apparatus arises from conquest. This form of trade intensified productive activities. This was the 'spark' for political society's development. Women, Rapp, explained, were engaged in trade initially just as men were. They occupied similar occupations, historically, and did the same quality of work as the males.

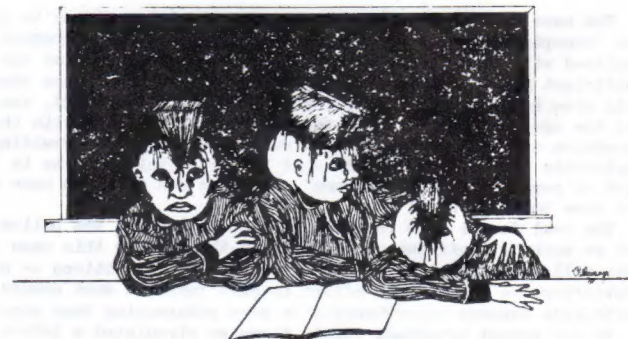
Rapp concluded that men and women lose their communal autonomy to the state apparatus in distinctly different ways. The destruction of the kinship networks deprives women of their organizational alliances as patriarchal family structures relegate them to the reproduction and maintenance of labour-power in the home.

Dusan Pokorny said that people were unequal before the emergence of class society but interdependent. He said there was the rule of law, hence rulers, before the emergence of the state although anthropological research has concluded that it is the order of custom, hence custodians or delegates, which exists before the emergence of the

of the state. Pokorny also asserted there were no individual rights in a primitive communist society. He argued that there was only the right of the community or the commonweal. This is in error. There is no right at all. A right is generated in opposition to custom. A right is part of a state law which can only be the affirmation of a class status quo.

Dr. Rosenberg, another conference participant, agreed for the most part with Rapp's assessment of the state apparatus' origin. However she said we must pay more attention to how kinship networks resist the imposition of class society. Rosenberg argued the kinship alliances are not destroyed by the emergence of class society but subordinated to it. She observed that current kinship networks such as neighbourhood councils still played an active role in attacks on class societies. She cited as examples their important role in national liberation struggles and revolutions such as Vietnam, Italy and West Africa.

Dr. Rosenberg also commented that she was curious about why many statist societies emphasize virginity as a virtue to be upheld by the female members of societies. She cited examples such as the virgin Mary which is held up in many Christian societies, as well as other class societies, also promote sexual activity which is chaste and without eroticism. She concluded that these features of class society are embraced because sexually repressed individuals are more willing to defer to authority. They are more compliant to the state apparatus. Rosenberg says this is why class societies repress 'gender identity'.



Russell Jacoby, in his, presentation, displayed an understanding that authority today has become impersonal. It is no longer associated with individuals but instead with institutions. He was concerned that economic relations which are today our dominant social relations between each other have become transformed by what he termed the withdrawal of the psyche from more extensive relations of personal service in the social network. In a "throw away" society even the compassion of social relationships are not repaired as people withdraw from conscious participation in their own lives entirely. Dr. Jacoby concluded that radical analysis must pay more attention to the relation of the individual to society rather than focusing on one or the other side of this relation. Jacoby said that if the ideology of individualism is losing its force with the decline of bourgeois society and now lays in our past it must also be recovered in our future if there is to be historical or revolutionary change.

In regard to democratic politics, Claus Offe stated, it is the 'bridge' between the citizen and the state apparatus. This bridge which separates and connects the citizenry and the state apparatus allows for the formation and elaboration of conflicting interest group coalitions. This has been known as the 'democratic class struggle'. On the other hand we have the state apparatus of capitalistic society which intervenes to limit and resolve these conflicts. The state apparatus of capitalistic society grants out rights to interest groups only in so far as they do not upset other interest groups of the status quo. This is how liberal bourgeois democratic theorists understand the relations of the citizen and the state apparatus.

Offe's study concerned how the bridge between the state apparatus and the citizen is strained or shattered. The breakdown of public authority by the citizenry comes about when conflicting class demands overload the institutional channels which the state apparatus utilizes to reduce the impact of class demands. Offe noted there had been a tendency among those who agreed with this theory to blame wage demands for the breakdown of public authority. Offe said there are a number of reactionaries who believe that rising expectations are also causing institutional strain. These people who argue that social services are too extensive and that workers are demanding too much ignore the fact that the support systems of the capitalistic state apparatus have forced people to become dependent on these services. The citizenry did not institute welfare measures the demands of capitalist accumulation did. Now in order to maintain the rate of profit, which tends to decline as automation and mechanization increase the total social capital and cheapen the value of labour-power and its products, the capitalist state apparatus is mobilized to cut its welfare expenditures and subsidize private capital or public capital investments. This necessitates an attack on democratic interest group coalitions of the working class which rely on these social services and oppose these cutbacks. The capitalist state apparatus carries out this attack by increasingly integrating democratic institutions such as parties, elections, the press, and unions and by repressing those who are particularly unwilling to give up those social services on which they rely. The net result is that the state apparatus is less and less able to legitimize its class bias and so is less able to 'manage' class conflict.

The citizenry has increasingly found itself alienated from the political arena. As examples Offe cited the international feminist movement, the anti-nukes movement, independence movements, such as that in Quebec and regional movements for increased autonomy. These movements are no longer able to find expression in the orthodox bourgeois class based parties. European citizens, and we might add North-Americans and the Quebecois, said Offe, still vote but it is evident that this is now only a formality and not a substantial expression of political aims.

Offe also argued that the presence of the international movement for women's liberation, the anti-nuke movement, and revolutionary independence movements, as well as the traditional workers movements show that while people's personal value structure and cultural milieu has shifted to 'post-material' concerns the onslaught of capitalist crisis in advanced industrial capitalist countries

CONTINUED: SEE CONFERENCE Pg. 6



## UPDATE British Anarchists

The case against the six arrested anarchists continues to crumble. The 'conspiracy to cause explosions' charges have been dropped and replaced with 'conspiracy to rob banks'. Even this retreat was not sufficient and the prosecutor has served notice that these charges will also be dropped and replaced with other, unspecified, charges. All the arrested anarchists have been released on bail with the exception of Ronan Bennet who was refused bail by the presiding magistrate who commented "from what I hear of this case he is the sort of person who would abscond". It seems now that the case will not come to trial until 1980.

The real danger here is that the prosecution and the police have put so much of their own credibility on the line in this case that they will feel compelled to come up with some convictions -- any convictions -- in a futile effort to save face. We must ensure that world-wide censure makes conviction more embarrassing than acquittal.

At our recent prisoners rights forum we circulated a letter of protest addressed to British Home Secretary Merlyn Rees that drew 29 signatures and collected \$12 (5 pounds) for the Defense Fund.

Letters of protest are urgently needed to demonstrate to the British government that they cannot proceed in this case with impunity. Letters should be sent to the: British Home Secretary, Whitehall, London, England. The Persons Unknown Support Group desperately needs funds to prepare an adequate defense any and all contributions are welcome and should be sent to: Persons Unknown Support Group, 182 Upper St., Islington, London N.1.

## Conference CONTINUED FROM Pg. 5

since the mid-seventies has caused them to retreat to the defence of their previous gains. Instead the post-material value structured movements are fusing with the more traditional demands of the working class against social service cuts and for a shorter working day thus overloading the system even more.

In all this conference remained trapped within the sterile liberal paradigm of the individual and the state. This is why there was so little discussion of the class struggle and its current expressions. As members of the First International understood the state discussed as an entity divorced from its basis in class society is an abstraction. The state apparatus is the instrument of class rule.

The conference also indicated that Marxism has degenerated into an ideology of intellectuals whose analysis has no historical specificity and no understanding of present day movements for change.

The reason revolutionaries study the state is not merely to interpret it or to raise calls for its "revolutionary" reform from a comfortable armchair. We study the state in order to better realize how we can smash it.

## Women's Day CONTINUED FROM Pg. 1

City Hall where a second rally was held featuring a musical presentation by representatives of the Wives Support Committee of the Inco strike in Sudbury. The crowd was also addressed by a Jamaican woman facing deportation and a representative of a prostitutes group.

For the second year in a row a large Anarchist contingent joined the rally and march under a banner reading "Nobody is Free Until Everybody is Free." Anarchists enthusiastically support the progressive demands of the Women's Movement and note with pleasure the amount of Anarchist philosophy which has been incorporated into the radical feminist movement. At the rally and on the march the Anarchists distributed copies of a leaflet entitled Build The Independent Women's Movement Which outlined the basic tasks facing the Women's Movement from an Anarcha-Feminist perspective.

Earlier in the week a group of radical feminists held a rally at City Hall on March 8 -- the traditional date for Women's Day. At the rally several speakers condemned the sexist Ontario Provincial Police report on rape, which blames the victim for the crime, and symbolically burnt a copy of the report. The women then marched to Maple Leaf Gardens to protest the sexist honkings of that old donkey Harold Ballard on a recent As It Happens CBC radio broadcast.

A further demonstration on March 31, Abortion Day, drew over 150 women and men to a picket of Queens Park, the Provincial Legislature, followed by a march to Women's College hospital and then to Toronto General hospital by way of Yonge St. and University Ave. Following the march a rally was held at Innis College (U of T) to discuss ways and means of implementing the marchers demands for abortion on demand. The march was marred by the presence of a large contingent of anti-abortionists, approximately eighteen, who unsuccessfully attempted to disrupt the march. With the Abortion Day action a hectic and inspiring month of Women's activities came to a close.

## LETTERS CONTINUED FROM Pg. 2

become free himself." Freedom being universally a social relationship, aggression (e.g., abortion) constricts the liberty even of seemingly unaffected outsiders. The freedom in solidarity of these third-party "outsiders" is indirectly but genuinely diminished by the enslavement or killing of each direct victim; the third parties are thereby cut off forever from any interaction with the victim as a living human equal.

(These passages are in G. Maximoff, ed., The Political Philosophy of Bakunin Pg. 340-44 and A. Lehning ed., Michael Bakunin Pg. 83-4 and 147.)

G.S.: Toronto.

Dear TAG:

The article on Pg. 3 (TA#5) 'Know Your Enemy: The Finance Capitalist' was especially interesting. According to the analysis in the 2nd paragraph on the right-hand side, after N years have passed (supposing he completes one such loan each year) our lucky banker will have 12 N million dollars. That is, in about 25 years he will have more dollars than there are molecules in the whole earth!

Of course this short analysis is completely useless, and even quite wrong. However this only underscores the main point of the article ... leftists know very little precise information about capitalism and how to combat it.

With this in mind, I enclose a check for five dollars. Please use 2 of those dollars for my subscription and give the remaining 3 to the author of the article as an educational grant. Perhaps he can find an economics text in a second-hand bookstore.

If the author was just joking in the article, then put the remaining 3 dollars towards a longer subscription.

B.W.: Toronto.

Dear TAG:

Regarding the Toronto Anarchist which I saw recently, I was disappointed. It seemed very theoretical in content in contrast to the previous one I saw (TA#4) which was on a more popular level.

My experience is that the left mostly talks to itself. And I think we should try to reach large numbers of people -- people previously unfamiliar with radical or anarchist ideas.

Thus while some of the TA was of interest to me (some was even over my head!) I only know maybe a dozen others who would be interested in it.

Furthermore the article about the Toronto Municipal politicians (or whatever) did not even draw anarchist conclusions. Such pseudo 'objective' analyses could be found in any straight daily.

Of course it is hard to translate our anarchist ideas into everyday language. But it must be done if we want the ideas to spread. The issue of the TA that I saw a couple of months ago seemed better, although I can't remember it in detail.

Remember -- use words that people can understand. Don't talk over their heads. Perhaps it is different in Toronto. Perhaps there are 10,000 anarchists on the streets just waiting to get their hands on your paper (or on the bosses' neck).

But I suspect there are not. And if we ever want there to be 10,000 anarchists in Toronto, we have to talk to people where they are at, and express to them our ideas. Its not easy.

D.S.: Ypsilanti, USA.

## Why The Black Flag?

The black flag is the symbol of Anarchy. It evokes reactions ranging from horror to delight among those who recognize it. Find out what it means and prepare to see it at more public gatherings.

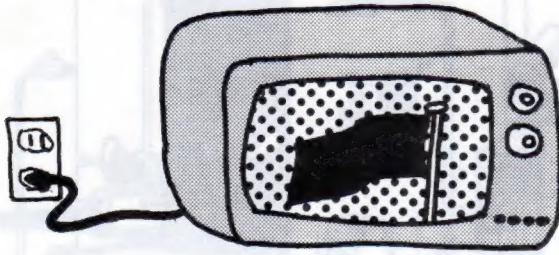
Why is our flag black? Black is the shade of negation. The black flag is the negation of all flags. It is a negation of nationhood which pits the human race against itself and denies the unity of mankind. Black is a mood of anger and outrage at all the hideous crimes against humanity perpetrated in the name of allegiance to one state or another. It is anger and outrage at the insult to human intelligence implied in the pretenses, hypocrisies and cheap chicaneries of governments.

Black is also the colour of mourning; the black flag which cancels out the nation also mourns its victims -- the countless millions murdered in wars, external and internal, to the greater glory and stability of some bloody state.

But black is also beautiful. It is a colour of determination, of resolve, of strength. A colour by which all others are clarified and defined. The black flag means all these things. We are proud to carry it, sorry we have to, and look forward to the day when such a symbol will no longer be necessary.



# Pirate TV In Pickle Lake



Since the Christmas of 1976 a maverick entrepreneur has successfully operated a pirate TV network in some of Canada's far northern communities. David Brough set up his first single watt TV station on a table-top in his Pickle Lake apartment and started broadcasting to the 800 residents of the northern Ontario mining community.

Before Brough arrived on the scene Pickle Lake had TV sets but no TV station. The residents devoted themselves to the two major northern pastimes -- getting drunk and gambling. So Umex Corp. Ltd., one of the communities mine companies, in an effort to curb the sinful ways of the miners approached Brough and rented his mini-station. The station consisted of a video recorder that Brough had adapted to play ten hours of tape at a stretch, a small video camera, an antenna, and a tiny transmitter with a range of about 6.4 km.

Brough set himself up in a Toronto apartment and began recording hundreds of hours worth of the best programming in North America shipping them back to Pickle Lake via air freight where an assistant broadcast them, using the small video camera to supplement the programming with local news and shots of hand-lettered commercials taped to the kitchen wall.

Brough is a pirate in the sense that he certainly does not have permission to re-broadcast his bootleg tapes and the police were swift to pounce on his 'illegal' station. The outraged miners of Pickle Lake swarmed to the defense of the station and the police prudently retreated. They've been retreating ever since. At last count Brough was operating 31 Pickle Lake-style stations and has

plans to open 100 more. The CRTC pointedly ignored Brough, in the ardent hope that he would just fade away, he shows little sign of doing that. Forced to succumb to the inevitable the CRTC finally scheduled hearings in Thunder Bay to consider his application to operate in Ontario. So far no decision has been reached and Brough continues to broadcast.

Obviously Anarchists have little sympathy for Brough's basic motivation -- the desire to make a fast buck. But the implications of Brough's actions are interesting. The total cost for the original Pickle Lake installation was less than \$4,000. Brough set up in a remote community but there is nothing to stop someone from setting up in a large metropolitan area such as Toronto and instead of just re-broadcasting the mindless pap beamed at us from the US we could get into real innovative and political TV.

Pirate political radio in Europe is very big especially in Italy where over 1,000 pirate radio stations are in operation. The stations have an immense following and play key roles in organizing demonstrations and reacting instantly to the bullshit of the politicians on the commercial mass media. The step to TV is not that great and the possibilities are limitless.

In Canada broadcasting has always been regulated on the grounds that the airwaves belong to the people and that because of the limited number of frequencies somebody has to sort things out. So the government stepped in and sorted out first radio, then TV stations and networks, then cable stations. The concept of the people owning the airwaves got lost in the shuffle and broadcasting became a strictly commercial affair and a tool of class rule.

It doesn't have to always be that way. Since the dawn of socialism we have used the print media leaving broadcasting in the exclusive hands of the Statists. A pirate radio station can be put on the air for less than \$500 and can be based in mobile vans to elude government attempts to locate and destroy them. Brough has shown that for only a little more cash we can move into TV. I can see it now: "This is Mikhail Bakunin with the International, today in the streets of Toronto..."

SCOTT FREDERICKS

**PIE IN THE SKY WHEN YOU DIE?** In a recent speech to the deluded masses crowding St. Peter's Square in Rome Pope John Paul II declared that: "Mankind's true freedom comes from faith in God, and not from appearances of liberty during earthly life." John Paul II continues the age-old role of the church in filling the suckers with platitudes and admonishing them to accept their oppression meekly. This priests pronouncements should further harden the resolve of all Anarchists to wage unceasing war on religion and all lies.

## profile

# Anatoli Zhelezniakov

By: Paul Avrich

"The guard is tired." With these words, uttered on the night of January 5/6, 1918, a young Anarchist sailor named Anatoli Zhelezniakov dispersed the Constituent Assembly and carved a small niche for himself in the history of the Russian Revolution. When the Tsarist regime collapsed in February 1917, Zhelezniakov had been serving on a minelayer based in Kronstadt, the famous HQ of the Baltic Fleet near the capital city of Petrograd. After the February Revolution, Anarchists and other militants occupied the villa of P.P. Durnovo, the Governor of Moscow during the revolution of 1905, and converted it into a revolutionary commune and a house of rest, with rooms for reading and discussion and a garden as a playground for their children. To hostile minds however the Durnovo villa had become a foul den of iniquity, "a sort of Brocken, where the powers of evil assembled, witches' Sabbaths were held, and there were orgies, plots, dark and sinister, and doubtless bloody doings," as N.N. Sukhanov wrote in his notes on the Russian Revolution. Yet the villa was left undisturbed until June 5, 1917, when a number of its Anarchist occupants tried to seize the printing plant of a middle-class newspaper. The First Congress of Soviets, then in session in the capital, denounced the raiders as "criminals who call themselves Anarchists," and on June 7, P.N. Pereverzev, the Minister of Justice in the Provisional Government, ordered the Anarchists to evacuate the house immediately.

The next day fifty sailors, Zhelezniakov among them, rushed from Kronstadt to defend their fellow Anarchists, who had meanwhile barricaded themselves in the villa against a government attack. For the next two weeks the Anarchists remained entrenched in the villa in defiance of both the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet. But after some of them broke into a nearby jail and liberated the inmates, Minister Pereverzev ordered a raid on the house, during which an Anarchist workman was killed

and Zhelezniakov was taken captive, relieved of four bombs, and locked up in the barracks of the Preobrazhensky Regiment.

A few weeks later, Zhelezniakov escaped from his "republican prison", as one Anarchist journal called it, and resumed his revolutionary activity. The crew of his minelayer elected him as their delegate to the Second Congress of Soviets, which met on October 25, 1917, but he was busy that night leading a detachment of sailors in the storming of the Winter Palace that overthrew the Provisional Government. After the October Revolution Zhelezniakov was named as commander of the detachment guarding the Tauride Palace, and it was in this capacity that he carried out his historic mission of dispersing the Constituent Assembly, ending its life of a single day. It seems fitting that an Anarchist should have played this role. For the Anarchists as opponents of all government rejected representative democracy almost as vehemently as they rejected the Tsarist and proletarian dictatorships. Universal suffrage was counterrevolution, as Proudhon had said, and parliament was a nest of fraud and compromise, an instrument of the upper and middle classes to dominate the workers and peasants. The Anarchists had only scorn for what they called the "parliamentary fetishism" of the other revolutionary groups and openly denounced the Constituent Assembly from the first.

From the outbreak of the Civil War Zhelezniakov fought in the Red Army as a commander of a flotilla and later of an armoured train. General Deniken placed a reward of 400,000 rubles on his head but Zhelezniakov fought bravely without injury until July 26, 1919, when he was killed near Ekaterinoslav by a shell of Deniken's artillery. He was 24 years old.

A statue of Zhelezniakov stands today in the city of Kronstadt -- erected by the Bolsheviks in tribute to his role in the October Revolution and the Civil War. Poems and songs by Soviet writers have been composed in his honour and are recited or sung to this day, but without any hint that Zhelezniakov was an Anarchist. On the contrary, the Communists claim him as one of their own and avoid mentioning his Anarchist affiliations by calling him a "revolutionary", a "hero", and a "martyr for the people". Soviet sources, in fact, say that he joined the Bolshevik Party, but this is untrue. Though he had participated in the October Revolution and had fought in the Red Army, Zhelezniakov remained an Anarchist to the last. As he told his comrade Voline: "Whatever may happen to me, and whatever they may say of me, know well that I am an Anarchist, that I fight as one, and that whatever may be my fate, I will die an Anarchist."



## Errico Malatesta:

# An Anarchist Programme: Part 1

NOTE: This programme was drafted by Malatesta and adopted by the Unione Anarchica at its Congress in Bologna. (1920)

### 1. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

We believe that most of the ills that afflict mankind stem from a bad social organization; and that Man could destroy them if he wished and knew how.

Present society is the result of age-long struggles of man against man. Not understanding the advantages that could accrue for all by cooperation and solidarity; seeing in every other man (with the possible exception of those closest to them by blood ties) a competitor and an enemy, each one of them sought to secure for himself, the greatest number of advantages possible without giving a thought to the interests of others.

In such a struggle, obviously the strongest or more fortunate were bound to win, and in one way or another subject and oppress the losers.

So long as Man was unable to produce more than was strictly needed to keep alive, the conquerors could do no more than put to flight or massacre their victims, and seize the food they had gathered.

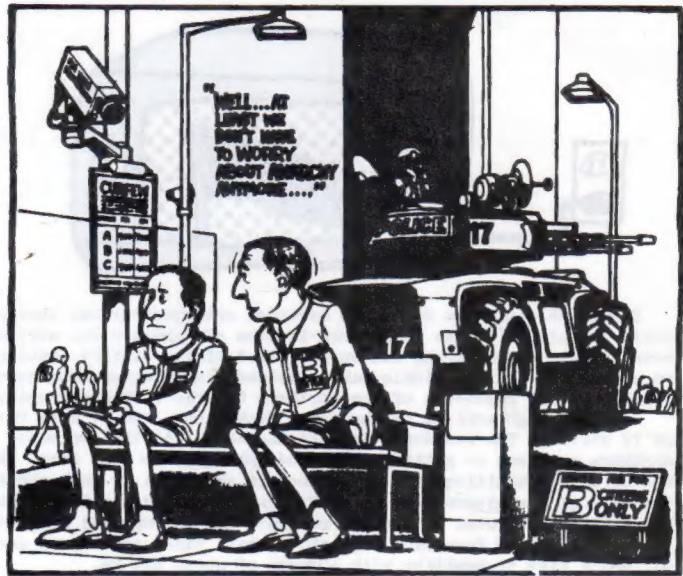
Then when with the discovery of grazing and agriculture a man could produce more than what he needed to live, the conquerors found it more profitable to reduce the conquered to a state of slavery, and put them to work for their advantage.

Later, the conquerors realised that it was more convenient, more profitable and certain to exploit the labour of others by other means: to retain for themselves the exclusive right to land and working implements, and set free the disinherited who, finding themselves without the means of life, were obliged to have recourse to the landowners and work for them, on their terms.

Thus, step by step through a most complicated series of struggles of every description, of invasions, wars, rebellions, repressions, concessions won by struggle, associations of the oppressed united for defence, and of the conquerors for attack, we have arrived at the present state of society, in which, while the mass of the people, disinherited in all respects, is exploited and oppressed by a small possessing class.

From all this stems the misery in which most workers live today, and which in turn creates the evils such as ignorance, crime, prostitution, diseases due to malnutrition, mental depression and premature death. From all of this arises a special class (government) which, provided with the necessary means of repression, exists to legalise and protect the owning class from the demands of the workers; and then it uses the powers at its disposal to create privileges for itself and to subject, if it can, the owning class itself as well. From this the creation of another privileged class (the clergy), which by a series of fables about the will of god, and about an after-life etc., seeks to persuade the oppressed to accept the oppression meekly, and (just as the government does), as well as serving the interest of the owning class, serves its own. From this the creation of an official science which, in all those matters serving the interests of the ruling class, is the negation of true science. From this the patriotic spirit, race hatred, wars and armed peace, sometimes more disastrous than wars themselves. From this the transformation of love into torment or sordid commerce. From this hatred more or less disguised rivalry, suspicion among all men, insecurity and universal fear.

We want to change radically such a state of affairs. And since all these ills have their origin in the struggle between men, in the seeking after well-being through one's own efforts and for oneself and against everybody, we want to make amends, replacing hatred by love, competition by solidarity, the individual search for personal well-being by the fraternal cooperation for the well-being of all, oppression and imposition by liberty, the religious and pseudo-scientific lie by truth.



Therefore:

1. Abolition of private property in land, in raw materials and the instruments of labour, so that no one shall have the means of living by the exploitation of the labour of others, and that everybody, being assured of the means to produce and to live, shall be truly independent and in a position to unite freely among themselves for a common objective according to their personal sympathies.
2. Abolition of government and of every power which makes the law and imposes it on others: therefore abolition of monarchies, republics, parliaments, armies, police forces, magistratures and any institution whatsoever endowed with coercive powers.
3. Organisation of social life by means of free associations and federations of producers and consumers, created and modified according to the wishes of their members, guided by science and experience, and free from any kind of imposition which does not spring from natural needs, to which everyone, convinced by a feeling of overriding necessity voluntarily submits.
4. The means of life, for development and well-being, will be guaranteed to children and all who are prevented from providing for them selves.
5. War on religions and all lies, even if they shelter under the cloak of science. Scientific instruction for all to advanced level.
6. War on rivalries and patriotic prejudices. Abolition of frontiers; brotherhood among all peoples.
7. Reconstruction of the family, as will emerge from the practice of love, freed from every legal tie, from every economic and physical oppression, from every religious prejudice. This is our ideal.

EDITOR'S NOTE: We are reprinting Malatesta's Anarchist Programme in four parts in the hope of stimulating debate on the question of an Anarchist programme for the late 20th Century. We believe that Malatesta's programme is an excellent base from which to begin. In the TA#7: WAYS AND MEANS.

## The TA is available at:

The Book Cellar  
730 Yonge St.

SCM Bookroom  
330 Bloor St. W.

U of T Bookstore  
Kings College Circle

Louis Riel Bookroom  
334 Queen St. W.

Bob Miller Book Room  
180 Bloor St. W.

International News and Bookroom  
663 Yonge St.

Third World Books  
748 Bay St.





## LIBERTARIAN NOTES



**ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN 79:** On March 26, 1979, Pierre Trudeau announced the calling of the long-delayed Federal election. In the eight weeks from this date until the vote on May 22, the Canadian public will be subjected to a barrage of Madison Avenue-style persuasion techniques designed to convince them that by stuffing pieces of paper into a box they will be able to exercise "real" control over the power elite. Trudeau will present his "five challenges" and run on his record of strike-breaking, police intimidation of radical groups and assorted crimes against the people. Joe Clark will try to convince the populace that Tory reaction is the key to happiness and prosperity. And, from the "Left", Ed Broadbent, in league with the premier class-collaborationist of our time Mr. Dennis McDermott of the CLC, will try to convince us that the NDP is the "party of the people." As Anarchists we totally reject "election" frauds and all parliamentary "solutions" to social problems. As Anarchists we never tire of pointing out that: "If Elections Could Change the System -- They Would be Against the Law!"

Last May Day, at a conference in Montreal, Anarchists from all across Canada gathered to discuss the current situation in Canada. One of the results of that conference was the decision to mount a Canada-wide Anti-Election Campaign. The thrust of this campaign will be to convince people of the futility of looking towards the State for solutions to their problems and to encourage them to either decline their ballots or to refrain from voting at all. For the past year we have been stockpiling propaganda material in preparation for the election. This material consists of: Posters (10¢ each); Buttons (25¢ and 50¢); Bumper Stickers (1¢ each); and pamphlets (5¢ each). This material is being produced by the Edmonton Anarchists. As well as the aforementioned material the Regina Anarchist Group will be publishing a regular Anti-Election bulletin detailing Anti-Election actions across Canada. In addition the Toronto Anarchist Group will be publishing a special Anti-Election issue of the Toronto Anarchist in early May. Addresses: Edmonton Anarchists, POB 2827, Station A, Edmonton, Alberta. Make all cheques and money orders payable to Cash. Regina Anarchist Group, POB 3658, Regina, Saskatchewan. No Vote is a Vote for Anarchy!!!

**GERRARDO GATTI & AMNESTY INT'L** - Gatti was one of the best-known labour unionists in Uruguay. He was secretary of the Graphic Arts Union and a founder of the National Confederation of Labour of Uruguay. He was an anarcho-syndicalist of the old school - the Libertarian Youth (JL), followed by the Federation of Uruguayan Anarchists (FAU) and the Regional Federation of Workers (FORU); he also helped spawn the new school: the Worker-Student Resistance (ROE). He was also editor of the magazine EPOCHA and the newspaper RED & BLACK. He and his brother, also a leading anarcho-syndicalist, were high on the list for elimination by the State. Turncoat CIA agent Philip Agee notes in CIA DIARY that the Gatti brothers were under CIA surveillance. After the military crack-down on the Tupamaros, the Gatti brothers disappeared; Gerrardo made it to Argentina at one point... whether he remains incarcerated in either Argentina or Uruguay, or was murdered in either is not known. The dictatorships in both countries refuse to give the

family any information. Such can be expected from their like. Even more disgusting is the attitude of Amnesty International, which refuses to add Gatti to their list of prisoners in Uruguay and which receives international attention. In fact, only the International Federation of Journalists (the pro-West rival of the pro-Moscow Int'l Organization of Journalists) has given to Gatti any notice.

Why is it that Amnesty International ignores Gatti? He was a labour organizer, not a guerrilla, so he did not violate Amnesty's usual stricture on the use of violence. The reason is that Gatti was a serious rival to the Communists in Uruguay and it is the Communists who Amnesty International are supporting. Decisions on which prisoners to aid are made by Amnesty's Research Department. The chief of that section is Professor Derek Roebuck, a ranking member of the Australian Communist Party.

**IWW WINS** - the revolutionary syndicalist I.W.W. has recently won a string of victories in Michigan state. In a NLRB certification vote at the large University Cellar bookstore, the IWW won 35 votes to 14 non-union, with an additional 6 persons in dispute (5 voting IWW). Last fall the IWW struck and won a contract at the small Charing Cross bookshop in Ann Arbor, and last summer gained a contract at the community-run Easttown Printing Press in Grand Rapids. This has lessened the pain of defeat in a strike at the Mid-America Machinery Co. in Virden Illinois, a union drive on two construction projects in New Mexico, and CETA project drive in Santa Cruz, California.

**ACADEMIA** - Professor Desmond Morton of the University of Toronto, writing a lengthy article for a recent TORONTO STAR editorial page, complains that the pro-business Social Credit Party government in B.C. is stealing from the NDP's "socialization" program. Their plan to issue shares on B.C.'s (largely NDP) nationalized industry's to every interested man, woman or child in B.C. is seen by Morton as a theft of the NDP's "socialist" thunder. Well, we really wonder at the merits of academia when a professional like Morton displays such ignorance of Canadian history. The issuing of dividends to the citizenry has been a fundamental Social plank since the days of glory under Major Douglas and Bible-Bill Aberhart. In fact, the first Social regime in 30's Alberta did manage to issue two dividends before the Supreme Court forbade their attempt to crush usury and set-up the planned economy of the small-businessman's dream.

**TAG** - The Toronto Anarchist Group was organized in 1968, its members much involved in the various causes of the 60's ferment. Included too were veterans from the early Toronto anarchist movements, which was strongest in the Italian and Jewish working-class ghettos in the 1920-40's and numbered militants like Emma Goldman and Arturo Bartolotti; they worked closely too with the old IWW. TAG was reactivated in 1972 and launched a number of conferences and publications; members were also active in the IWW union and GDC defense work, especially the Artistic Woodwork strike. TAG skidded in the mid-70's, but by fusion with the new Toronto Anarchist League (U of T), the group was revitalized and immediately took a prominent part in the anti-fur hike demonstration at Queen's Park in March 1978. A fairly consistent level of activity has continued. On internal matters: an organized section of TAG affiliates with the Anarcho-Communist Federation of North America; other individual members in TAG remain strictly independent (many with other affiliations). TAG people are involved in a wide variety of activity: prisoners' rights, the Native Peoples movement, revolutionary art, radical labour unionism, international defense work, tenant and community protests and strikes, academia, the radical women's movement, etc.





# Bakunin On Marxism

"Who are the Marxists, these partisans of so-called scientific socialism? They are the doctrinal revolutionaries... who have assumed the mission of destroying the existing powers and orders to create their own dictatorship upon their ruins. They are enemies of the actual powers only because they wish to take them over; enemies of the actual political institutions only because the latter exclude the possibility of the former's dictatorship. They are nevertheless the most ardent friends of the State power, which they know must be maintained; without it the revolution, after having really liberated the people, would remove from this pseudo-revolutionary minority any hope of fastening them to a new harness and winning their favour with government measures."

BAKUNIN

Bakunin on the Marxist State:

"For the proletariat this will, in reality, be nothing but a barracks regime, where the standardized mass of men and women workers would wake, sleep, work and live to the beat of a drum; for the clever and educated a privilege of governing; and for the mercenary-minded, attracted by the immense international speculations of the State Bank, a vast field of lucrative jobbery." (Letter to Liberte. 1872)

"The leaders of the Communist Party, namely Mr. Marx and his followers, will proceed to liberate humanity in their own way. They will concentrate the reins of government in a strong hand. They will create a central state bank and control all commercial, industrial, agricultural, and even scientific production. The mass of people will be divided into two armies - industrial and agricultural - under the direct command of state engineers, who will constitute a new privileged and political class."

Statism &amp; Anarchy 1873



## And Finally...

Well it's been a busy two months since the TA#5 what with two Anarchist Forums, two demonstrations, and putting together TA#6. On April 13-15 the ACF caucus of TAG will be sending a delegation to the third bi-annual conference of the Anarchist Communist Federation. The main item on the agenda at Ypsilanti will be the establishment of a mass North American Anarchist newspaper published by the Federation. The first issue should be off the press in September 1979.

In response to numerous requests we will be enlarging our type size by 10% in the TA#7 to head off a mass epidemic of blindness among Anarchist ranks. This increase will necessitate an increase in the number of pages to make up for the lost word-count.

In the TA#7 will be articles on the "born-again" movement, an expose on the Leninist Left in Toronto and Part 2 of Malatesta's Anarchist Programme.

We are also planning to re-start the Anarchist Discussion Group and we are soliciting suggestions for discussion topics. So far topics suggested include: The Russian Revolution; The split in the First International; Anarchism and Feminism; The Spanish Revolution; The National Question in Quebec and Anarchist Organization.

On a financial note: we would like to expand the TA into a tabloid in the near future a move which would dramatically increase our production costs. If you think a regular, quality Anarchist newspaper dealing with important Canadian issues is a project worth supporting we hope you will contribute generously to our Tabloid Fund.

In early May we will be publishing a special four page Anti-Election issue of the TA to complement our planned Anti-Election campaign. (See Libertarian Notes, Pg. 9) The deadline for submissions to the TA#7 is June 1, remember, we are always interested in contributions from our readers that deal with issues in Anarchism. EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE: TORONTO ANARCHIST GROUP.

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PSSST, NO, DON'T THROW THIS AWAY, MY FRIEND. AFTER YOU'VE READ IT, THINK OF SOME FRIENDS WHO WOULD BE INTERESTED IN READING IT... AND GIVE IT TO THEM! ALSO, TELL THEM NOT TO THROW IT AWAY AFTER THEY READ IT, SO THAT IT PASSES FROM ONE TO ANOTHER AND THEN TO ANOTHER, AND SO ON.